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Federal Aid to Education . . . . . **PAUL SWAIN HAVENS**

Race Relations in Our Capital . . . **WILBUR LA ROE, Jr.**

APRIL 1949

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PAUL NEWTON POLING, Secretary and Editor; MARGARET E. KUHN, Assistant Editor; CLIFFORD EARLE, Associate Secretary; FERN M. COLBORN, Assistant Secretary; and WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, Director, and JESSE BELMONT BARBER, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

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THIS AIR AGE—PROGRESS OR PERIL?

By **FERN M. COLBORN**, *Assistant Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action.*

OUR physical survival today has become largely a matter of our ability to direct scientific developments. A higher moral force must control these if they are not to be the cause of man's destruction.

The idea for the 70-group air force first received general public notice in the spring of 1948, when the chairman of a Congressional appropriations committee suddenly announced a bill to appropriate a large sum of money to make the necessary plans for the building of a 70-group air force.

Actually, the plan resulted from a comprehensive study by a special Air Policy Commission appointed by the President. The commission's report made public January 1, 1948, recommends in part "that the minimum force necessary at the present time is an air force composed of 12,400 modern planes, organized into 70 combat groups, and 22 special squadrons, supplemented by 27 national guard groups and 34 groups of air reserve. All these forces, with the exception of the air reserve, must be equipped, trained, and ready for immediate action in the event of war. We should build to this force as rapidly as possible and once it is achieved, never permit it to drop below this level. Nor should we permit it to become impotent and ineffective because of failure to keep it modernized with the very best planes and equipment available.

"The cost of the Military Establishment as reflected in this report shows beyond any doubt the critical need of carrying out the intent of the Unification Act to the greatest extent possible and at the earliest possible moment. We believe that there is an enormous opportunity for savings, and that as these savings are effected, the forces essential for our security can be maintained in being within the safe limits of our financial resources." (*Survival in the Air Age*—a report by the President's Air Policy Commission, pages 24 and 25.)

The report recommended the following expenditures for air force:

1947–1948	$2.8 billions
1948	$4.1 billions
1949	$5.4 billions

It recommended further that a complete review be made of the military establishments of January 1, 1950, and that this review should control expenditures for the years 1950 and following.

Shortly after these findings were released, another report was made public on March 1, 1948, the report of the Congressional Aviation Policy Board, appointed by the Congress to study aviation. This board of review consulted the same sources as the commission and made the following recommendation:

"From the information made available to the Board by the Air Force and by the Navy separately, it would appear that the initial strength necessary to mount promptly an effective, continuing, and successful air offensive against a major enemy, is what is termed the Air Force 70-group program of 20,541 aircraft, plus the Navy program of 14,500 aircraft—total 35,041 aircraft. At the level-off period in 1953 these programs would require thereafter an annual Air Force procurement of 86,000,000 air-frame pounds and an annual Navy procurement of 25,000,000 air-frame pounds—total 11,000,000 air-frame pounds annually." (*National Aviation Policy*—Report No. 949, page 7.)

The chart on appropriations puts the cost of the 70-group air force as follows:

1948	$3.1 billions
1949	3.5 billions
1950	5.2 billions
1951	6.5 billions
1952	7.3 billions
1953	7.8 billions
Level-off	7.5 billions

(*National Aviation Policy*—Report No. 949, page 9.)

In February, 1949, the House Armed Services Committee concluded hearings on a bill designated as "The Army and Air Force Act of 1949," H. R. 1437, which would establish permanent Army and air force policy. This bill is before the House as this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press.

The bill calls for 70 air force groups together with the necessary supporting and auxiliary United States air force and reserve units, 24,000 serviceable aircraft or 225,000 air-frame tons or 450,000,000 pounds, of which 5,200 aircraft or 42,500 air-frame tons annually or 85,000,000 pounds would be called for annually. Appropriations are indicated for necessary funds.

The report of the committee hearings estimates that the cost would be about $7.5 billion annually at the leveling-off period.

While the study was being prepared, the President had asked his Committee of Economic Advisers and the Bureau of the Budget to tell him what was the top amount that could be spent on our military establishment without throwing our economy out of gear. The figure agreed upon was $15 billion for all military expense. Therefore the President requested in his budget message that the 1950 budget include appropriations for a 48-group air force. However, in the committee

hearings the chairman observed that he thought "Congress would not be likely to pass any universal training this go-around," and suggested using the $800 million in the President's budget for UMT to increase the air force beyond the 48-group. This idea swung the committee discussion to plans for a 57-group for 1950.

How Big Is One Air Force Group?

Many thoughtful citizens have asked what the air strength of one air force group might be. In the light of the above information of the 70-group air force one need ask, "What is one group?" Senator Raymond E. Baldwin, an ex-officio member of the Congressional Policy Board, has described one group in the November, 1948, issue of the *American Magazine*. He has pointed out that air groups vary widely in number of aircraft and personnel, depending upon type of plane, responsibility, and length of operation. He describes one medium bombing group as including:

30 B-29 aircraft
310 Combat airmen
1,480 Other personnel

He adds, however, that a day bombing group might be 72 aircraft.

In the 70-group air force would be the following:

21 heavy and medium bomb groups
5 light bomb groups
22 fighter groups
3 all-weather fighter groups
4 tactical reconnaissance groups
5 long-range reconnaissance groups
10 troop carrier groups
22 separate squadrons for liaison, rescue, etc.

Marquis Childs, in the Washington *Post*, February 23, 1949, made an interesting comment about this contemplated program of the air force:

"Flashing across the Washington sky these days," he writes, "are all sorts of mysterious shapes. Flying Wings, super-duper jet jobs, round-the-world bombers, streak across the Capitol and the gaping Congressman has a feeling of being whirled along in the revolution of the air age.

"In the rivalry between the three services for funds and favor from Congress, the ability of the air force to startle and surprise is the subject of bitter recrimination from both the Navy and the Army. That rivalry rarely has been more acute than it is today, 19 months after the services were theoretically unified by law.

"This is the real significance behind the drafting of General Dwight D. Eisenhower to serve as a kind of umpire over the disputes and differences that separate the three branches of our national defense. The hope is that General Eisenhower will establish the pattern of an impartial chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Another commentator, Thomas L. Stokes, in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, February 22, 1949, observes that "the program that President Truman recently submitted to Congress for continued controls of all sorts on prices, credit, wages, and for allocation of still scarce commodities, has provoked outcries that the Administration aims at a completely planned and controlled economy.

"The real reason for controls, and it is very simple, is the huge military outlay which requires a great quantity of all sorts of production. This is in competition with the requirements for civilian goods. To meet both demands as equitably as possible, it is essential to have controls to provide fair distribution. Because of the shortages that exist still in some lines, which run up prices under the old law of supply and demand, it is also necessary to have price controls. An armed economy, as we should have learned by our war experience, cannot be a free economy."

Is Peace Imminent?

In the committee hearings on the Army and air force bill, Secretary Royall, of the Army, testified that "our best estimate of the world situation does not indicate that war is imminent. . . . The passage of this proposed legislation is an essential step in the separation of the air force from the Army, and will also bring both of these services on a statutory parity with the Navy."

Most recent figures gathered by the staff of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* list the following order of strength of the armed forces in the world. China, with its 5.7 million men under arms, is the largest; Russia's 3.8 million rank next in strength; United States comes next with 670 thousand; and Great Britain with 650 thousand is next. In per cent of military expenditure the following are noted: China has spent the largest per cent of its budget for military affairs—80 per cent; followed by Brazil, 42 per cent, Argentina, 38 per cent, and the United States, 34 per cent. Russia (18 per cent) was next to the bottom of the entire list with only Belgium devoting a 10 per cent lower proportion. A United Press release of March 10, 1949, states that Russia now spends 19 per cent of her yearly budget on armed forces.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* also states that Russia had a peak of over 15 million men in her armed forces in mid 1945. These were reduced by 1948 to about 4 million men in 190 divisions of which one third were at full strength (10,000 men). The Russian air force is listed at 400,000 to 500,000 men with about 25,000 planes. Her naval tonnage is given as 450,000, including more than 150 submarines. For comparative purposes, Secretary of Air Symington testified on January

28, 1949, that the United States now has 411,000 men in the air force. This does not include the Naval air arm. The United States has the largest Navy in the world today, and the size and number of atomic weapons are not known.

A very pertinent factor in preparation for war or building for peace, however, is the industrial capacity and man power of any nation. The author recently addressed a request to the U. S. Department of Commerce and asked for figures on the production of the principal commodities in the U.S.S.R. for 1948. U. S. figures were obtained from *Information Please. Almanac, 1949,* and from the American Iron and Steel Institute. On the basis of that information the comparisons appearing below are interesting. Figures for U.S.S.R. units are in the metric system.

Any of these facts and proposed plans must be examined with certain basic questions in mind. Obviously, each of us must find his own answers. Who originated the idea and under what circumstances? What does the plan promise? How will this plan for unprecedented air strength help toward building a peaceful world? What will this plan do toward removing some of the basic causes of difference between people or nations? Will the expenditures of money, man power, and matériel which this plan requires be consistent with the principles of Christian stewardship?

Comparative Volume of Production of Basic Commodities in United States and Russia

	U.S.S.R.	*U.S.*
Coal	199.5 million tons	311.5 million tons
Petroleum	29.2 million tons	988,172 thousand bbls.
Autos and Trucks	172.7 thousands	3,558 thousands (passenger cars only)
Pig Iron	14.3 million tons	58.2 million tons
Steel	17.0 million tons	96 million tons
Copper	196 thousand tons	846.3 million tons
Electric Power	62,300 mil. K.W.H.	255,725 mil. K.W.H.
Workers and Employees in Industry	33,400,000	Nonagricultural workers— 50,500,000

A DANGEROUS TREND

Excerpts from a new pamphlet on militarization in America.

New Evidence of the Militarization of America is the title of a startling and well-documented report just published by the National Council Against Conscription. A marked trend toward military control over American life and institutions has developed as an aftermath of the Second World War. Never before in American history has the military establishment had so much money to spend, so many officers or ex officers in important civilian Government posts, so much influence in the formulation of foreign policy, or such an ambitious publicity department as it does today. Never before have we seen such careful plans being prepared for control of labor and industry, nor such widespread influence exercized in the field of public and higher education as is true now.

Only informed and prompt action on the part of American citizens will halt the further expanse of military influence and reverse a dangerous trend that threatens our democratic institutions. Leading American authors, educators, clergymen, labor leaders have recommended the report for serious study by their fellow citizens and by their representatives in Congress and the Administration. Copies are available from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 25 cents a copy; 6 copies for $1.00.

Excerpts reprinted here from the chapter on "Military Influence on Foreign Policy" are indicative of still-expanding military power. Other chapters are equally provocative and stimulating for study and discussion.

A former Undersecretary of State, Sumner Welles, in a public address, spoke of American foreign policy as being made by "militarists" when it should be made by civilian "diplomats with a long-range point of view."[1]

In the field of foreign policy, in addition to the control exercized by military men in the State Department, there is a great deal of military influence exercized directly by the National Military Establishment. This military influence is an outgrowth of a wartime practice.

The bipartisan foreign policy, which is so often lauded by Republican and Democratic leaders, is in large part a "hands off" policy for civilians with the real decisions in the Administration being made by military men. Although Congress could in theory reject proposals made by the President on the recommendation of the National Security Council or the military departments, in practice the minority party, in the spirit of the bipartisan agreement, seldom objects, and the proposals become law.

One illustration of bipartisan consent to military planning of foreign policy is seen in the developments surrounding the proposals for a Western European Union

and lend-lease aid to its member nations.

While the military men were promoting Marshall Plan legislation in Congress and planning for the draft, they were also quietly preparing for the Western European Union and military aid. On February 7, 1948, the Associated Press said of British military sources: "The Anglo-American Joint Chiefs of Staffs, according to these informants and diplomatic sources, will submit proposals to standardize a wide range of military equipment and training for fifteen European countries as the basis of a program of military self-help. The standardization will be according to American and British patterns."

As a result of the passage of the Vandenberg Resolution, American military representatives openly attended sessions of the Western European Alliance.[2] The military, under the Vandenberg policy, "could reject any aid wherever the military interests of this country might not be served," *The New York Times* reported.[3] This military carte blanche was not only an advance declaration that Congress probably would endorse a military alliance and military lend-lease; it was also a move to strengthen the hand of the military in American foreign policy.

Military influence in foreign policy is visible at a number of other points. For example, the military acted on its own without even informing the State Department of important decisions about the Berlin crisis between the United States and Russia. "The State Department was not informed in advance of the decision of the military authorities to seal off the western zones to Russian rail traffic in reprisal for the Soviet blockade" and "on more than one occasion recently the Pentagon has made important decisions on operations in Berlin without the knowledge of the Secretary of State . . . decisions that had they been known would have affected State Department policy making."[4] This situation is possible only because the American military commander in Germany, General Lucius D. Clay, "unlike his collateral British and French military chiefs, does not receive orders from the State Department but from the War Department."[5]

The military is functioning also through establishing direct relations with the future officers of foreign nations. A foreign liaison office at the Pentagon Building arranges for visits of foreign officers and cadets to the United States to inspect military establishments here and to be entertained on a royal scale.[6]

The United States continues to maintain military missions in foreign countries as a part of our military emphasis in foreign policy. One of the largest missions is in Greece, where there are 214 officers and 260 enlisted men, and an additional 9,478 civilians supervised by the U. S. Army Engineer Corps.[7]

In Turkey there are 245 officers and men who are engaged in giving specialized training to the Turkish Army.[8] The U. S. Army mission to Turkey not only used the original appropriation of $100 million authorized by Congress, but announced that it had poured into Turkey close to a billion dollars in military aid. This additional military aid, unauthorized by Congress, was managed by drawing upon the "vast reserves of arms, munitions, and supplies" of the American military establishment, writing it off "at about a dime on the dollar" as surplus goods, and sending it to Turkey.[9] This was done at a time when the Army and Navy were asking Congress for more funds for weapons and equipment.

In China there were until recently several United States military advisory groups.[10]

The Navy has also been active in foreign policy missions. It strengthened its Mediterranean fleet with combat-equipped Marines and maintains a task force of full wartime strength in the waters off Greece, Turkey, and Italy.[11]

The Navy has sent ships to Singapore and the Far East on a "good will" visit,[12] to Norway and Denmark,[13] and to other nations. That all these naval activities are a part of the Navy's role in foreign policy

is seen from a statement by Admiral Radford, Vice Chief of Naval Operations. Stating that the Navy had become "a precision instrument of diplomacy," he claimed that by "showing the flag" and by a "display of sea power" the Navy can keep the peace in any part of the world.[14]

In our relations with Central and South America there is a strong military influence. As early as May 19, 1926, Congress authorized military missions to all countries in the Western Hemisphere. On June 4, 1938, Congress agreed also to authorize the Navy to help to train Latin-American forces. Since then the Army and Navy have been operating on an important scale in Latin America.

The Army and Navy have been fastening militarism on American colonies and possessions as well as on South America. In Puerto Rico for example, the Navy has decided to depopulate one of the oldest communities in the Western Hemisphere, the fertile island of Vieques, and turn it into a military training base. The Navy ordered half of the inhabitants or about 5,000 people to evacuate within a few months' time. This action meant the crippling of the agricultural economy since the island produces 20,000 tons of sugar annually and supports four sugar mills. To Puerto Rico, which does not have enough arable land to support a dense population, the Navy's action is a real calamity.[15]

In the Pacific the Navy rules territory that includes 2,000 islands or islets given to the United States in trust for the United Nations. Most of the islands are small but some are well known like the Mariana, Carolina, and Marshall island groups. A secret Government report of a survey of these former Japanese islands, by the United States Commercial Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, reveals that "the islands are worse off now than they were under Japanese rule." The report "hints that the natives are being forced to work against their wishes."

The report claims that the Navy has dispossessed natives of good but scarce farm land in order to establish golf courses and naval recreation areas. Natives have been refused access to farm land near abandoned air strips. The Navy has not only restricted imports from the United States but has placed high tariffs on goods imported from other areas.[16] Wages paid to the natives are 5 to 7 cents an hour for common labor and 9 to 11½ cents an hour for skilled labor.[17]

The Army tries to minimize its real power over civilian life by broadcasting the idea that the Army is nonpartisan and hence does not influence politics. In May, 1948, for example, the Army issued orders forbidding "comment, criticism, analysis or interpretation of news of a political nature." The Army, it said, must not try to influence "the result of any election for federal office." [18]

Real power in a republic does not lie in the ability to influence elections so much as it does in the ability to influence important national decisions regardless of who the elected officials are. Likewise, the military serving in military missions in other countries can wield tremendous influence without actually incorporating those countries into a colonial system.

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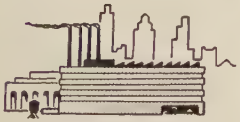
[1] *The New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1948.
[2] *New York Sun*, Sept. 25, 1948; *The New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1948.
[3] *The New York Times*, May 20, 1948.
[4] *Ibid.*, July 31, 1948.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *The New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1948.
[7] *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1948.
[8] *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1948.
[9] *Chicago Tribune*, May 29, 1948; *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1948.
[10] *The New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1948.
[11] Rochester, N. Y., *Times Union*, Jan. 19, 1948.
[12] *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1948.
[13] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1948.
[14] *Ibid.*, July 11, 1948.
[15] *New Republic*, Jan. 19, 1948; *Catholic Worker*, Feb., 1948.
[16] *Los Angeles Daily News*, Feb. 17, 1948.
[17] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1948.
[18] Albany, N. Y., *Knickerbocker News*, May 13, 1946.

The Budget Dollar

Fiscal Year 1950 *estimated*

Where it comes from . . .

Direct Taxes on Individuals **43¢**



Direct Taxes on Corporations **28¢**

Excise Taxes **19¢**

Customs and Other Taxes **8¢**

From New Taxes **2¢**

ONE DOLLAR

Where it will go . . . . .

34¢ National Defense

16¢ International

13¢ Veterans Programs

13¢ Interest on Debt

6¢ Social Welfare Health and Security

5¢ Natural Resources

13¢ All Other

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

RACE RELATIONS IN OUR CAPITAL

By WILBUR LA ROE, JR., *attorney at law and former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.*

THE two worst places of race prejudice in the whole world are British South Africa and the United States. This fact should challenge even those lovers of true democracy in America who do not claim to be Christians. And it should constitute a double or triple challenge to followers of Jesus Christ.

The challenge is the greater because of the degree of race prejudice in the nation's capital. For here in Washington race prejudice is not merely a casual thing—not merely a feeling of racial superiority on the part of whites—but a definite social pattern which to a large extent has statutory recognition.

Although prejudice against Negroes is by no means confined to the South, the situation here is aggravated by the fact that this is a Southern city. Some of the finest families of the Old South are represented here. The Southern Senators and Representatives and their families reside here part of the year. We even have "Southern" Presbyterian churches here. We have become accustomed to Southern cooking, and even we Yankees have learned to like corn pone and hush puppies. The home of Robert E. Lee across the Potomac in Arlington National Cemetery, occupying a commanding site overlooking the District of Columbia and overlooking the Lincoln Memorial, serves as a constant reminder that this is not a Northern community.

I have learned from experience that feelings run very deep on the racial issue, and they are not confined to Southerners. Even if one limits his efforts to improving the economic status of Negroes, he is almost sure to be asked whether he wants his daughter to marry a Negro. And in one prominent "Northern" church, when a distinguished Negro educator was invited to address the congregation on a Christian topic, some of the officers protested vigorously and refused to attend.

Negroes constitute about one fourth of Washington's population but they account for 67 per cent of the city's tuberculosis deaths, 71 per cent of recorded deaths from syphilis, 73.5 per cent of juvenile delinquency cases, 70.3 per cent of felonies, and 55.2 per cent of misdemeanors. These horrifying figures are the result of submarginal housing, inadequate standards of living,

and a general bad social condition resulting from discrimination. The Negroes live mostly in segregated areas. There is no single Negro area or "ghettos," but there are numerous colored "islands" in many parts of the District. The terrific pressure for Negro living quarters has caused these islands to expand, resulting in many extensive "invasions" of white areas, to the discomfort and anger of many. Per contra, many little Negro islands have been wiped out by the razing of Negro houses for Government buildings, and sometimes for the building of homes for whites.

Practically all the white hotels, restaurants, and theaters rigidly exclude Negroes. The Y W C A restaurant is a notable and refreshing exception, but the Y M C A restaurant bars Negroes. Throughout the public-school system and its playgrounds there is a very strict segregation which has its basis in Congressional legislation. In this sense Congress itself is responsible for the pattern of segregation. In the stores there has been a marked tendency in recent years to break away from segregation. In the dime stores Negroes are freely admitted if they eat standing up, for only whites may sit while eating. In some areas of Washington life one sees the results of Northern influence. For example, in the Union Station there are no separate white or colored waiting rooms or rest rooms.

While the white churches have no rules against admitting Negroes, the pattern of segregation is just as rigid in the churches as it is in the schools, hotels, and restaurants. There are two or three exceptions to this, however.

Uline's Arena, which previously admitted Negroes only to the lower-grade athletic events, like wrestling and prize fighting, but excluded them from the more "cultured" events, like Ice Capades, has recently removed all bars.

Exclusion of Negroes from Washington National Airport and its concessions, including the restaurants, was terminated by an administrative regulation of the Civil Aeronautics Administration on December 27, 1948.

There is a curious situation as to nonschool playgrounds. There is rigid segregation for those which happen to fall under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia Board of Recreation, while there is a studied attempt to abolish segregation in playgrounds under Federal jurisdiction (Department of Interior) with the Christian leadership of such men as Assistant Secretary Oscar Chapman. There is evidence of rivalry and not a little ill feeling between these agencies for control of certain facilities, with the segregationalists favoring local control and the others favoring Federal control. On the school playgrounds the strict segregation lasts as long

as the supervisor is around, but when he closes the gates and leaves, both the white and colored children climb the fence and play together. Democracy begins when the flag goes down.

In the Government departments the better jobs are held almost exclusively by whites, and while the war and the Roosevelt-Truman influence have brought some relaxation of the old unwritten law that Negroes may be employed only in such inferior jobs as janitors, charwomen, and messengers, it is still true that very few Negroes occupy the higher Federal positions. Where Negroes are employed by the Government there is as a general rule no segregation.

In the field of private employment, the pattern is pretty much the same, most Negroes being employed as laborers, janitors, domestics, etc. But the area of private employment is slowly expanding. One liberal drugstore employs only Negro girls at its lunch counter, and it is a popular eating place. Still it is segregated —i.e., "only Negro girls."

Our own Government is not altogether free from embarrassment in this matter because some of the dignitaries from foreign countries have dark skins, and they naturally complain when the color line is drawn against them in the capital city to which their Governments have sent them.

Much excitement was caused in the District of Columbia in the latter part of 1948 by publication of *A Report of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital.* The excitement was the greater because of the many prominent names in the committee membership—Bishop Oxnam, Dr. Cavert, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Harper Sibley, Bishop Scarlett, Walter Reuther, and many others of such distinction that the report has to be taken seriously. It created much heat. Those who are inclined to be anti-Negro were quick to attack a few inaccurate and extreme statements in the report. The Roman Catholics were justifiably angry because of the emphasis laid on a single incident where a Catholic priest is said to have suggested to a Negro worshiper in a white church that he go to a colored Catholic church, the inference being that the Roman Catholic church is to be marked out as a special offender. The truth is that Catholic University is one of the more liberal universities in this matter. American University has also made some progress and now has no restrictions against Negroes. Negroes are excluded by George Washington University, Columbus University, and Southeastern University (a Y M C A school).

Space does not permit a complete analysis of this Report. It might have been written with more re-

straint and impartiality. I question the accuracy of the statement in the report that "it is becoming more and more rare for white and colored people . . . even to have a speaking acquaintance with each other." My impression is somewhat to the contrary. The Federation of Churches now embraces colored as well as white churches. There are three Negroes on the Board of Education out of a total membership of nine, and the chairman of the Board of Parole is a Negro. But it is true that through the years there has been practically no social admixture between the races, and this is still true. With very few exceptions a Negro is never seen attending a white church in the District of Columbia.

A special word may be added concerning the hospitals. None of the white hospitals permit colored physicians to bring their patients to such hospitals, and even in Gallinger Municipal Hospital, which is operated by the Government, it is not possible for a Negro physician, however skilled, to be on the Board, although there are now a few Negro physicians on the staffs.

In the main the report is sound and true. One does not need to stretch the truth to present a tragic picture, for the discriminations against Negroes in the schools, churches, restaurants, hotels, playgrounds, hospitals, and theaters are so real and so pronounced that one has only to photograph them to picture manifest injustice.

Note: Since this article was written, the sharp controversy between the Federal Government and the District of Columbia Government over this issue has been accentuated by a virtual order by the Secretary of Interior to the local Recreation Board, requiring the latter to cease and desist from segregation practices at certain playgrounds. Whether this order will be obeyed or contested is not known at this time.

SOCIAL ACTION SUGGESTIONS

As the civil rights program becomes law, the situation in the District of Columbia will change. Watch for information on civil rights in the "Citizenship" section of this magazine.

Since the District of Columbia is governed by Congress all citizens of the United States have a responsibility for what happens there. If you wish to express your opinion about segregation in the nation's capital, letters may be addressed to The Honorable J. Howard McGrath, Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

By PAUL SWAIN HAVENS, *president Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.*

FEDERAL aid to education is an issue about which some people storm and rant. Let us—as President Turck suggests in the March issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS—attempt to put aside all prejudice and look the issue squarely in the face.

Two major proposals for Federal aid to education are now being debated from coast to coast. One of them has been formally placed before the Congress in Senate Bill 246, known as the "Educational Finance Act." If Congress passes this act, it will appropriate $300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, and for each year thereafter to be distributed among the states for equalizing public elementary and secondary school education. The second proposal has not yet been embodied in legislative form. It is contained in a report entitled *Higher Education for Democracy* published in the winter of 1947 and the spring of 1948 by President Truman's Commission on Higher Education. It recommends a vastly expanded system of higher education for the United States. For reasons that will appear later, let us consider these two proposals in reverse order.

Most Christians will, I believe, respond favorably to many of the aims set forth by the President's Commission on Higher Education. That we should through higher education further strengthen democracy and create better understanding among men; that we should teach greater social responsibility; that we should point out the way to peace and world citizenship; that we should attempt to solve some of our own difficult social situations—all of these have an instantaneous appeal. At this particular time the Christian citizen will especially endorse the objective of removing economic, racial, and creedal barriers from the path of boys and girls who wish a higher education. Since these objectives cannot be attained by 1960 without substantial Federal subsidy, the commission unhesitatingly recommends Federal aid to higher education.

But the thoughtful citizen is bound to ask whether, with or without Federal aid, the goals so glowingly described by the President's commission can be achieved. One of those goals is the enrollment by 1960 of 4,600,000 young men and

women in various branches of higher education. This is approximately twice the number now enrolled in our colleges and universities. Present campuses are so overcrowded that the report recommends the establishment of a vast network of so-called "community colleges" throughout the nation to care for the rapid expansion.

The report asserts that on the basis of Army experience and Army tests we can assume that 49 per cent of our young men and women of approximately twenty years of age are capable of successfully completing two years of post-high-school education and that 23 per cent are capable of successfully completing four years of college. But is it just to assume that virtually one out of every two boys and girls who graduate from high school are equipped to do two years of college or community college work? The report properly points out that many young men and women of good capabilities have not in the past been able to go to college, usually for economic reasons. But caring for this able group of students is quite another thing from offering a free higher education to multitudes of young men and women who, educational experience shows, will be only questionably fitted in ability and incentive for post-high-school study. What result can we expect except a general loss in the quality of our educational product?

The report anticipates this question in part by pointing out that the expansion of our higher educational establishment was great in the years from 1910 through 1947, and by stating that the projected further expansion is no greater proportionally than the growth that we have already witnessed. But this is to overlook an important fact. The expansion from 1910 onward has been so rapid that serious questions have been raised about the quality of work that our colleges and universities now do. The report implies that what we have done under emergency conditions with our large numbers of veterans we can do again and again as a matter of everyday procedure. This is only to pile Pelion on Ossa; to encumber an already overtaxed machine with a greater burden than it can be expected to carry efficiently, even with the assistance of the so-called community colleges which the report recommends.

The report obviously worships numbers. The argument is that more people need more years of education. But what America needs at this moment is, not more education, but better education. The educational process cannot, like wartime industrial production, be extended by the sudden multiplication of factory units. By its very nature it has its own pace and its own requirements. A program as vast and as rapidly expansive as that proposed by the

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An Appr

THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT proposes a new departure in American foreign policy—that the United States associate itself in peacetime with countries outside the Western Hemisphere in collective security arrangements. As this issue goes to press, the text of the pact has not been released. It is possible the pact will appear without the features of a military alliance, but that these purposes will be sought in a bill enacted by Congress to provide military aid (similar to E R P). Whether by North Atlantic Pact or by concrete military accords, the proposal raises these and like questions that remain valid.

According to its advocates the North Atlantic Pact will:

- Strengthen the United Nations.
- Be in complete accord with the United Nations Charter, Article 51, providing for collective self-defense and the charter provision for "Regional Arrangements."
- Meet certain security problems that are distinctly regional in character.
- Give confidence to Atlantic Pact nations by promising our support of collective "action forthwith" in case of aggression.
- Guarantee success of E C A (E R P) by providing confidence essential to productive industry. (The military pact is corollary to E C A [E R P].)
- Provide the means of protection for this huge investment (E C A) which it would be foolish to leave unguarded.
- Deter Russian aggression with "statement of the firm intention of the United States actively to oppose armed aggression" and promise to stop the aggressor by overwhelming military power.
- Provide continuous military collaboration and consultation with the West.
- "Create a strong Atlantic community to make it clear nothing can be decided and nothing gained by war." (Walter Lippmann.)
- Neutralize the threat of Russian armies just behind the iron curtain.
- Guarantee the peace by creating an overwhelming preponderance of the force for the North Atlantic Pact countries.

Those who oppose the North Atlantic Pact warn:

- The United Nations will be critically weakened.

to Faith

- The pact will tend to nullify the charter. Although it is argued that the charter authorizes the pact, the fact remains that Article 51, including the declaration, "*Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs—until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain . . . peace and security,*" is not a part of Chapter VIII on "Regional Arrangements."
- Threats to security are not regional in character, though they appear in local situations. They are not confined to the West. Pacific Asia cannot be "controlled by a strong Atlantic community." Aggression in World War II started in Manchuria—"Remember Pearl Harbor?"
- The present dangerous division of the world will be extended by the polarization of the nations to Russia in the East and the United States in the West.
- The authority of the United Nations over pact members will be challenged or ignored by Western powers when policies are in conflict.
- Nations of Pacific Asia will have no security in the pact from aggression by pact members—Indonesia from Holland, Indo-China from France. The attempt to "stop Russia" by the Atlantic Pact is no solution for the great insecurity issuing from the revolt by half the people of the earth against colonialism and serfdom.
- The security of non-Communist nations outside the pact will be reduced as "less favored nations." The intensified struggle between East and West will increase fear among them. (France wants North Africa included and Turkey wishes to be admitted.)
- The pact means rearmament at the expense of recovery. Rearmament will sabotage E C A.
- E C A is winning the peace—winning homes, food, clothing for the needy—which will be devoured by a program of militarization returning the war victims to misery as victims now of a cold war. Military aid was wisely rejected a year ago when Europe was weaker and tension greater. There is even less reason for it now when Mr. Truman and Mr. Hoffman celebrate the success of E C A.
- It will make more difficult the revival of trade between East and West so essential to recovery.
- It promises a dangerous continuation of the cold war until absolute sur-

render by Russia or until armies march to solve the crisis by catastrophe.

- Foreign policy will be increasingly determined by considerations of military strategy.
- The freedom of neutral nations will fall before the toughening cold war—the contest for military bases and strong military positions. (Scandinavia fears Finland will be occupied by Russia, in the implementation of their pact, as a countermeasure to the Atlantic Pact.)
- The pact will commit the nations to an enormously expensive arms race. (Reasonable estimates of cost to the United States is one and a half billion for the first year with a four to five year total of ten to fifteen billion.)
- The process of rearmament will generate fears which further armament will be required to allay, thus creating a spiraling vicious circle that will not stop short of war. (We should get on with the multilateral reduction and control of armaments under the U N.)
- Militarization—"power for peace"—is power from peace. It is wealth diverted from the goods of peace—food, shelter, clothing, the development and exhaustion of the natural resources of "undeveloped nations," the corruption of the imagination of man by devoting the best minds to the development of the means of the massacre of nations with atom bombs and biological warfare. The proper study of man is not man's destruction.

Let us search for a better way "in collective security arrangements designed to safeguard peace." (*Building the Peace*, prepared by the State Department, spring, 1949, No. 19.)

Action is required that will not divide the nations by underwriting the defense of a few. The exclusion of others would thus intensify their fear and thereby destroy the security of all. Let us examine a protocol pledging action against any aggressor, open to all nations, requiring of the signatories "action forthwith." This action to follow automatically on a ¾ vote of the General Assembly with three of the permanent members of the Security Council concurring (Armstrong Proposal). This would accord with both the text and spirit of the United Nations Charter. It would release from the paralysis of the veto collective aid for victims of aggression—aid to which every member of the United Nations is entitled under the charter.

Adequate time for study of the pact is essential. We must call upon our Congressmen to reject any strategy that would deny our right to debate and fully understand the commitments involved. Do your Congressmen respect your right to know the facts and to share in the decision?

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

Federal Aid to Education

(Continued from page 15)

President's commission will only cheat the student of his proper educational heritage.

A second point is germane to the first. It concerns the instructional force that will be necessary to achieve a goal anything like that which is established by the report for the year 1960. There were in 1947, 155,000 teachers, researchers, and administrators connected with our institutions of higher education. By 1960 the report estimates that we shall need 350,000: an increase of well over twice our present force, all to be achieved in twelve years or less. Even if we assume administrators are not essential to our educational system, the need will exist for 300,000 teachers and researchers. This is the most serious problem confronting the program.

A final consideration—and its importance seems not yet to have been appreciated—is the position in which our private colleges and universities will find themselves if the program or anything similar to it is transformed into reality by Congress. The commission states that the cost of higher education in 1947 was approximately one billion dollars. By 1952 the cost will have risen, under the terms of the expanded program, to $2,181,000,000; and by 1960 the cost will be $2,587,000,000. No one will quarrel with the conclusion of the commission that this figure does not represent a disproportionally high percentage of our national wealth to be devoted to higher education. But it is important that we realize the $1,870,000,000 of the $2,587,000,000 cost as of 1960 will come from Federal, state, and local taxing sources and will be allocated entirely to publicly controlled institutions, representing a vast increase in the funds which they already receive from the taxing power. Now compare this figure with the figure of $506,000,000 which the report suggests will be available from private sources for privately supported institutions. The discrepancy is startling. Moreover, it is ominous that in 1960 the commission assumes that privately supported colleges will have the same income and the same expenditure as they had in 1947. Their enrollment is to remain at the same figure, 900,000.

The significance of this is clear. The privately supported institutions of the country have, according to the reasoning of the commission, reached their maximum growth and expansion and are seen as "frozen" henceforth. The principal future work in higher education and all future expansion are regarded as the province of the publicly supported institution.

Now let us consider a counter-proposal, which will involve the question of Federal aid to elemen-

tary and secondary education. Let us start by agreeing that an educated citizenry is essential; that many boys and girls of ability have not been able to attend college because of financial obstacles or because of discriminatory practices; that it is still reasonable to consider higher education as a privilege rather than as a right; that our privately supported colleges and universities should remain strong.

If, then, education is and must be a matter of vital importance to the nation, let us strengthen that most typical of American educational enterprises, the free public elementary and high school. It is these schools which minister, and should continue to minister, to the great masses of our boys and girls; but the contemporary school—partly because of the enormously accelerated growth that it has had since 1910—is understaffed, underequipped, and overcrowded. Let us see that large classes are reduced to manageable size; that teachers are encouraged to do their best work by a more adequate salary scale and improved working conditions; that new teachers are recruited for the profession by the enhancement of its prestige and its morale; and that some of the most important aims of general education are achieved for all. It is in the public school, strengthened and assisted and buttressed, that we can best expect to do the kind of work for millions of young boys and girls that the commission urges we do. If it can be clearly demonstrated that the states cannot improve the schools themselves (it is ironic that most state treasuries are in a much better financial condition than the Federal treasury), then let some such bill as Senate Bill 246 be approved by Congress.

Let us, in the second place, make full provision for the college education of the ablest among our high-school graduates, thus removing the economic inequalities that now prohibit some able students from study after high school. The commission has made a recommendation that should achieve this end: a series of scholarships supported by the Federal Government for students seeking the baccalaureate degree; and a series of fellowships for those who desire to proceed beyond the baccalaureate degree. If Federal funds are to be used for the purpose of higher education, this is the way in which they should be used. The grant should be based upon a competitive examination, or a battery of them, thus making sure that the recipient is worthy of the support that he seeks. The grant is to be made to the *individual,* who may choose to study at any recognized college or university in the country. There should be no discrimination among the candidates in race, creed, or color. Under a program of this kind, higher education is not a "right" to be had for the asking, but is a privi-

lege which can only be earned.

Finally, let the states make careful surveys of their own educational needs, bearing in mind that no state is a closed unit and that it sends some of its students to other states and receives some in return. A number of states, including New York and Pennsylvania, have made recent studies of this very kind. It will almost invariably be found that there is need for certain types of vocational schools and that the types will vary greatly from one section of the country to another. Since higher education has generally been the province of the state rather than of the Federal Government—if the work has not been done free of public cost by the privately supported college or university—it is reasonable that the state should then move to meet its own needs. The proposal keeps the onus of the program upon the state, where it properly belongs.

At Easter—Share

The Easter season has offered thousands of Presbyterian families the opportunity to share in the world's rebuilding through participation in the Lenten Sacrificial Offering. Many households have identified themselves with fellow Christians in war-ravaged areas by serving austerity meals and contributing the difference in cost to their Lenten gifts.

To show that Christians in America really care, an offering was taken in every church in the United States following the One Great Hour Appeal to rebuild the spiritual and material world of many million people. The funds raised by this Appeal will be administered through the regular overseas relief and rehabilitation channels of each denomination. They will offer sustenance where it is most needed; rebuild churches, schools, homes for children and aged; help the churches in caring for and relocating the tens of thousands of displaced persons.

But many gifts will be needed long after Lent—as long as suffering and starvation stalk the earth. Dr. Paul Calvin Payne, General Secretary of the Board of Christian Education, reminds us that: "We shall neither have nor deserve peace until we in America become Christian enough to share in some real degree the great burden of human suffering around us. In our time a terrible new sin has been born, the sin of eating a good meal without sharing it, the sin of failing to have at our tables each day invisible guests from a starving world.

"I wince when I see food left on our plates in homes and restaurants. We could feed Europe with what we scrape from our plates. For the sake of our own souls, as well as for the sake of these suffering millions, we must share.

"Never put on the table anything that will not be eaten. Once a week eat the kind of food Christians overseas must eat—potato soup and dark, coarse bread. You won't like it, but eat it and live with them one hour. Pray for the hungry in other lands as you sit before that sacrificial meal. Send what you save in CARE packages for them or bring it to your church for the offering our Board of Foreign Missions is collecting for overseas relief. Collect clothing too, especially woolens, stockings, men's clothing, and larger sizes of shoes. Only by sharing can we build a stronger Christian world of hope and lasting peace."

ARE WE LOSING THE PEACE?

By ELISABETH FARR, *an amateur reporter on Germany.*

PERHAPS it is time for an amateur observer to put into print his impressions of conditions in Germany, without any pretense of its being an authoritative account. Having spent several months in a German home in a city where there is a large American military post, and being absolutely unconnected with the military government, I feel I am in a position to regard the situation rather more dispassionately than Army personnel can, and more generally than the trained observers who visit Germany to examine some specific state of affairs, be it the economic revival or the German Church.

There is one aspect of the German problem that must cause all of us concern—the influence of the United States on the ideas and ideals of the German people. Let me tell you what I observed in this connection.

I suppose it has always been difficult to understand the people and the everyday life of another nation. But surely the conception of the United States which most Europeans have is unnecessarily false. We allow Hollywood to create a picture of American life that is either full of glamour or else depressingly sordid. Even the educated German finds it hard to realize that the United States is not largely populated by curvaceous blondes, gangsters, Negro-hating, lynch-minded demogogues, fat and domineering tycoons, cowboys and Indians, and Okies. The average German is torn between envy for our riches and our gadgets and scornful wonder at our divorce rate, race problems and crime.

I spent an evening conversing with a German man about forty years old, a brilliant, erratic creature with strange ideas about the United States. Fortunately I did not know until later that I was the first American he had ever met face to face. I would have been terrified by the responsibility had I known. He confided to a mutual friend later that his ideas about American women had changed. After our conversation he realized that the picture of frivolous, pleasure-seeking wives, waited on hand and foot by husband and servants, with no concern for the upbringing of her children, and no intellectual interests, was not necessarily typical.

We need propaganda of a vigorous, aggressive type. We need Hollywood's best efforts, the highest brand of journalistic reporting, the reprinting in translation of our greatest literature. But most of all we need personal contacts, by letters and if possible by visits, between

Christian Americans and Germans. We need a sympathetic understanding of each other.

But all the propaganda in the world will never overcome the impression we are making on the Germans by our example. There are some earnest, honorable men in our Army of Occupation—and we ought to thank God for them. But unfortunately the conduct of the majority is what the United States is judged by. Time and again I was bitterly ashamed of my countrymen, and, worse still, ashamed of myself as a citizen that I allowed such things to be.

Of all the evils that flourish in our Army of Occupation perhaps none is more flagrant than the consistent support we are giving to the black market. Much as I disapprove, I can find some excuses for the harassed German housewife who trades on the black market in order to secure a little extra food and clothing for her family. I can even understand, though not exonerate, those Germans who are running the black markets, and making profit out of human misery. The collapse of German morals and morale is a frightening thing, and these men are the product of that collapse. But I can neither excuse nor understand the widespread practice of American men and women in Germany today of contributing to black market activities. A kind of mania for collecting Meissen porcelain, linens and laces, silver and jewelry, has seized the Occupation wives. There is a steady stream of German visitors to American homes, with some object to trade for a carton of cigarettes, three pounds of coffee, and three pounds of fats. Almost invariably these cherished American products find their way to the German black market. At Christmas time the price of cigarettes on the black market hit the staggering amount of 90 marks a carton, or, at the legal exchange rate, 13½ cents a cigarette! One cannot excuse the Americans by saying they are innocent about the use to which they are supporting and abetting the black market. One woman bragged openly about what a good trade she had made for a houseful of this and that. Only so many cartons of cigarettes had secured for her these wonderful pieces of Meissen and these lovely linens!

I am no economist, and I do not pretend to understand international finance. But I saw the effect that the currency reform last June had had on old people who were trying to live on savings. I know it was a painful necessity to devaluate the mark 90 per cent, and stabilize its worth at 30 cents. Before I left the United States I was told of a place where I could buy marks for 22 cents. My Scotch blood rejoiced but my Presbyterian conscience made me inquire about the legality of such a bargain. "Shady," was the answer a reputable concern gave me. When I

reached Germany I went to the barracks to have traveler's checks changed into marks. The military finance officer seemed surprised by my request and asked how long I had been in Germany. When I replied that I had just arrived, he said, "Oh, that explains it!" It did not take me long to find out that I was about the only American paying the legal 30 cents per mark. I was assured that they could be bought legally in Switzerland by some complex procedure for 20 cents. If the legal rate is 30 cents per mark, it would seem possible for American authorities to clamp down on the universal practice of paying from 5 cents to 20 cents for it. The whole situation is indicative of the laxity of our control.

Another desperately bad example we are setting is common, I suppose, to all occupation armies, but it makes it no more palatable to observe. One is almost tempted to believe that every Ami (American soldier), married or unmarried, has a *Fräulein* in Sears & Roebuck clothing. Naturally, this is not quite so universal as it appears to be, but I heard an Army psychiatrist quoted as saying that the number of mental crackups among Army wives whose husbands insisted upon keeping their *Fräulein* even after their families joined them overseas was reaching alarming proportions. German parents of young girls have reason to be apprehensive. It is easy to condemn the girls, but the temptation to own pretty clothes and eat decent food must be tremendous, to say nothing of the hardening effect of years of Hitler's propaganda encouraging promiscuity. The illegitimate children of these German-American alliances are Germany's problem, but they are our problem too. It is frightening to look ahead fifteen or twenty years and think of the number of youth who will be bitter toward American fathers they have never seen.

There are good things about our Occupation, probably more than most of us believe, but the bad things eclipse the good. Our soldiers are grand with the German children, and popular with them too. They have done, as far as I have been able to ascertain, a fine job with the German Youth Association. Probably, in spite of all the evil, our Occupation is the most humane the world has ever seen. But humaneness must be supplemented by decency and good government.

The anti-Nazi German is deeply worried. He is worried about our whole policy of entrusting too much authority to the Germans. He is worried because time and again he sees anti-Nazis being eased out of positions to be replaced by former Nazis. He is worried because he sees the shadow of Nazism creeping back over Germany, and he sees that the Americans apparently do not recognize, or choose to be blind to, this

menace. He is worried because he suspects, with some justification, that unofficially, at least, the revival of the Nazi regime is being permitted in order to act as a bulwark against Communism.

We have been both too easy and too harsh. We have expected more from the Germans than they are capable of accomplishing. We have forgotten the terrors and miseries the anti-Nazis have had to face in the twelve years preceding the war's end. We have not bolstered them up and readjusted them to face post-Nazi responsibilities. On the other hand, we have been too lenient with the "little" Nazis. We are gullible enough to let them go back to positions of authority, often to give them priority over anti-Nazis.

Above all, we have been too lenient with our own personnel. Did we pour out our men, our money, our supreme effort to win the war, only to lose the peace by setting the conquered such a frightful example of what democracy produces? Are we reviving the world economically, and failing miserably to uplift it spiritually? One amateur, observing the scene, must answer sadly, "Yes."

But it is not too late. Even now, the prestige of the United States in Germany can be salvaged. Even now, by a prompt and thorough re-examination of our policy and our practice, the American Occupation of Germany can be turned into a shining example of Paul's plea: "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

Presbyterian Men Adopt Three-Point Program

Promotion of interdenominational co-operation and fellowship was stressed as one of the primary activities of men in local chapters of the National Council of Presbyterian Men through the coming year, at the first annual meeting of the council in Chicago, February 11-13. Three goals were endorsed by the delegates:

"To carry the principles of the Christian Gospel into every area of life—business life, social life, and family and community life, and to bring to the world the dearly won blessings of Christian democracy.

"To educate Christian laymen and others in the full significance of Protestantism and its relation to human freedom.

"To put the full force of Presbyterian laymen behind the cause of Christian missions."

In the conclusions of the council, the men were called upon not only to foster interdenominational co-operation but also to tackle civic and community problems, and to vitalize youth programs.

Dr. Charles J. Turck was re-elected president of the National Council. He is president of Macalester College, St. Paul, and previously served as the first director of the Department (now Division) of Social Education and Action. Lem T. Jones, of Kansas City, Missouri, was elected senior vice-president. Mr. Jones also represents the National Council of Presbyterian Men on the Counseling Committee of the Division of Social Education and Action.

Sanctuary

Earth Shall Be Fair

Call to Worship:

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

"And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

"And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. . . .

"And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful."

Invocation:

"O God, Author of eternal light, do Thou shed forth continual day upon us who watch for Thee; that our lips may praise Thee, our lives may bless Thee, our meditations may glorify Thee; through Christ our Lord. Amen." *From the Sarum Breviary.*

Hymn:

"Not alone for mighty empire, Stretching far o'er land and sea:
Not alone for bounteous harvests, Lift we up our hearts to Thee.
Standing in the living present, Memory and hope between,
Lord, we would with deep thank giving Praise Thee most for things unseen."

The Holy Word: Isaiah, ch. 35.

Hymn:

"Light of light that shineth Ere the worlds began,
Draw Thou near, and lighten Every heart of man."

Meditation:

I stood in a desert, and there was a Cross in the desert and a Man on the Cross.
"Look at Him," said the Voice, "and look at yourself.
Look at Him, and be still, look at yourself and be honest.
How do you appear to yourself beside Him?"

I looked, and it seemed as though the earth dropped from under my feet, and I was hanging in space between currents that pressed me down and currents that pushed me up.
"What do you see?" said the Voice.

"I have never been crucified," I said.
"No," said the Voice, "you have never been crucified. Do you know why?"
I felt suddenly ashamed. "I have never made people angry enough." . . .

I felt a chasm open, and stood on the edge and shrank back.
"Lord, let me go," I cried. "Let me go back to my world!"
"Not yet. Look again, look deep, and say what you see."
"I talked about love, but I myself never loved."
"What else?"
"I talked about Christ, but I worshipped only myself."
"What else?"
"I talked about truth but I never dared look in her face."
"Oh, why, man, why," cried the Lord, "why, why did you not dare?"
"Truth, I knew, was a fire. Truth, I knew, was a whip. . . .
Truth demanded thought, and I was indolent.
Truth demanded courage, and I was timid."
"The Man on the Cross," said the Voice, "was not timid."
I sank at the foot of the Cross.
"Truth is not in me. I have fed on lies." . . .

I said, "This is the end.
I am dust, and the wind will scatter me.
This is the end.
Who shall look Truth in the face, and live?"

But the Voice said, "This is the beginning, this is daybreak.
Give me your life, and day shall be like a new world. . . .
Man without God is a bubble in the sea, a single grain of sand on an infinite beach.
God without man is a mind without tongue or ears or eyes or fingers or feet.
God and man together, We are such power as not all the atoms in all Creation can match!"

I laid my hand there in the hand of God.

—*From* The Bomb That Fell on America, *by Hermann Hagedorn.*

Hymn:

"Turn Back, O Man, Forswear Thy Foolish Ways."

Prayer and Benediction:

"O Thou who art the light of the minds that know Thee, the life of the souls that love Thee, and the strength of the hearts that serve Thee; help us so to know Thee that we may truly love Thee; so to love Thee that we may fully serve Thee whom to serve is perfect freedom: through Jesus Christ our Lord."—*From the Gelasian Sacramentary.*

"The Lord bless you, and keep you: the Lord make His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you: the Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace. Amen."

—Prepared by Jesse Belmont Barber, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, and dean of Lincoln Theological Seminary.

CHRISTIAN Action

ALCOHOL EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

A special course entitled "Alcohol Education in the Church" was included in the curriculum of the sixth annual Training School for Church Workers held at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago on five Tuesday evenings, beginning February 1, 1949.

The course was taught by Dr. Francis McPeek of the Congregational-Christian Council of Social Action. Dr. Virgil Lowder, director of the Department of Social Service of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, assisted in the lectures.

The Training School was sponsored jointly by the Seminary, the Presbyterian College of Christian Education, and the Presbytery of Chicago. The presbytery's committee on social education and action was particularly responsible for the alcohol course. Rev. Bernard Vanderbeek, of Deerfield, Illinois, is the new chairman of the committee.

CHURCH CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Church men and women who are interested in the welfare aspects of the Church's program will be journeying to Cleveland in large numbers for the annual Church Conference of Social Work on June 11-16. Top-flight leaders in the field of social work, as well as leading Churchmen, are to be on the program. In addition to its own sessions, the Church Conference will hold several joint sessions this year with divisions of the National Conference of Social Work, which meets in Cleveland during the same week.

Headquarters for the Church Conference will be the Hotel Cleveland, which is also the headquarters for the National Conference of Social Work. The Church Conference will open at 2:00 P.M. on Saturday, June 11, and is scheduled to close Thursday, June 16, at 4:30 P.M.

The fact that the Arrangements Committee for the Church Conference, with the help of the Cleveland Council of Church Women, is planning to secure a sufficient quantity of rooms to house the Church Conference delegates in private homes at very reasonable cost should make it possible for many to attend who could not otherwise do so.

The Church Conference is attended by laymen, ministers, youth leaders, and chairmen of Christian social relations and social action committees of the denominations and local churches, as well as those engaged on a full-time professional basis in Church welfare work.

CITIZENSHIP

FUNDS FOR EUROPEAN AID

The amount requested by Paul Hoffman for the Economic Co-operation Administration is $5,580,000,000. He warned against cuts or diverting funds either in the United States or in Europe to armaments as working against recovery well under way.

The hearings have closed in the Senate

and House. It is expected that the committee recommendations will be ready soon. A cut in the amount is very probable in the Senate, although the House will probably follow the President's request and grant the full amount.

In the Senate two groups will press for reduction—those who want to trim the budget all along the line (S. Democrats in particular) and those who want to divert funds to military supplies to back the North Atlantic Pact (Capehart, Vandenberg). Connelly stands firm for full amount.

The business groups who got special privilege in ECA bill last year are not pressing claims because they no longer have surplus stocks. On the other hand, groups with a surplus (coal operators, for example) are anxious for special treatment this year. However the coal industry in Europe has so improved that this would be unwise competition from the recovery standpoint. ECA appropriations will have a hard time in the Senate. Therefore Senators should be pushed. (Provision of funds along lines indicated was official action of General Assembly.)

TAFT-HARTLEY

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has closed public hearings. Thomas, Humphries, and Douglas hold out strongly for repeal at once and adoption of the Thomas bill, S. 249. This bill would repeal the Taft-Hartley law, and, in addition, it curbs such unfair labor practices as "unjustifiable" secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes; state laws banning the closed shop would be wiped out in the area of interstate commerce; it revises the structure of the National Labor Relations Board and places the Conciliation Service back in the Department of Labor; in cases of strikes in industries seriously affecting the public welfare, the President would call upon parties to the dispute to accept a thirty-day truce while an emergency board investigates the issues and makes recommendations for a settlement. (Attorney General Clark maintains that a specific injunction provision is unnecessary because the President always has the power to seek court action to protect the health and welfare of the nation.) Taft, for the most part, stays by his bill, but would accept some changes. Aiken, Morse, and Smith are prepared to work for a good bill. However, after the hearings were extended the testimony deteriorated rapidly to mostly self-interested groups on both sides plugging for themselves. The result is that the bill that comes out of committee will probably be unsatisfactory to both management and labor. The most hopeful recommendation I have heard for a satisfactory solution to this dilemma is that the Labor and Public Welfare Committee ask Congress to appoint a commission to study and draft a proper labor bill for the next session of Congress. We might then get a bill apart from hysteria and pressure that would be worthy of our lawbooks. Letters directed to any of the Senators mentioned and to Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman, is the way to express your opinion.

DISPLACED PERSONS

In House—Cellar bill, H.R. 1344. In Senate—McGrath-Nealy bill, S. 311. These are identical bills and would revise the Wiley Act of 1948 in line with suggestions made by the Displaced Persons Commission to enable them to move displaced persons to the United States more rapidly. In the first six months of this act only 3,000 persons were processed because of the cumbersome clauses. By the end of March, 14,000 will be here, but the Commission says if the act is revised they can bring in 15,000 per month. (These new bills are in line with official action of the General Assembly.)

HOUSING

A new housing bill (S. 1070) has been introduced in the Senate as a result of the

committee hearings; it is bipartisan, and promises to be a good bill. It provides for a maximum of 308 million dollars per year for the next 40 years; the building of 810,000 Government-financed public-housing units during the next six years; in addition, a 1½ billion dollar slum clearance program through grants to states and cities; an extensive program of research and a sum of $262 millions for rural housing. (This bill is in line with action of our General Assembly.) A bill to facilitate construction for the middle income group was introduced March 15.

VETERANS' PENSIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

It is expected that the Veterans' Pensions Bill (H.R. 2681) will pass the House. This provides for a payment of $90 monthly to veterans of both World Wars upon reaching sixty-five years of age. It would cost about $65 million the first year and skyrocket to the billions annually. Many members of Congress see the financial seriousness of this bill but are afraid to vote against it because of organized veteran pressure. The American Veterans Committee is opposed to it; the other two veterans groups are pushing it. Perhaps the House cannot stop this measure from passage, but the Senate is in a position to do so. A far more adequate pension plan is provided for veterans and most others in our population in the new Social Security measure (H.R. 2892 and H.R. 2893) just introduced. Moreover, since it would be an insurance plan to which both employer and employee would contribute, it would not be so costly to the Federal budget and the taxpayer.

NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

As this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press, the text of the pact, is not yet available. There is considerable difference of opinion among the members of the Senate as to whether or not we should join this pact, and discussion also over supplementary legislation for military appropriations. There are numerous prophecies as to cost to the United States. The figure most frequently mentioned is $1½ billion. Paul Hoffman has warned that recovery cannot proceed on an adequate timetable if the plants and resources of the countries are diverted to armaments. (See pp. 16-18.)

THE BUDGET AND "THE SCARE"

Will the country again be subjected to a "scare" campaign in April in preparation for a military budget outside the realm of safe economics? Americans well remember President Truman's speech of last March 17, when he asked for Selective Service. Less than 20,000 men have been inducted, only the Army has used it and $25 millions have been spent on the program. In a release on January 31, Drew Pearson reports a conference between Secretary Forrestal and the members of the House Armed Services Committee held a week previously. Mr. Forrestal had told the Congressmen that there was hope of a temporary "economic agreement" with Russia. According to a State Department spokesman the Department was still convinced that Russia is not preparing for an armed war, and will not be ready in the foreseeable future. The purpose of this meeting, said Mr. Pearson, was to lay the groundwork for cutting the 70-group air force to 48. As indicated elsewhere in this report that the Armed Services Committee went back to their committee room and voted to shift the $800 million that the President had included for UMT in his budget to increase the air force this year to 57 groups. In other words, the House Armed Services Committee are outdoing the Military in their own estimates. Will they be so generous with E C A funds? Or, even more pertinent, what about the President's ceiling for military expenditures of the future?

—Fern M. Colborn.

EASTERN EUROPE AND MARSHALL PLANNING

Reprinted from *The Economist*, London, England, January 22, 1949

PUBLICATION of the four-year plans of the E R P countries again raises the controversial issue of east-west trade in which politics and strategy play a part from both sides. From the provisional estimates included in the plans, it looks as if the Marshall nations as a whole count on restoring the volume of trade with eastern Europe to somewhere near its prewar level.

Together they assume that in 1952-1953 they will get from eastern Europe imports worth approximately $2¼ billion, or about 17 per cent of their total imports. At the same time they plan to export to the eastern European countries goods to the value of $2 billion, or approximately 19 per cent of their total exports. Without a comparison with the postwar level of trade, however, these figures give little hint of the magnitude of the two-way effort necessary to reach these goals. In concrete terms they mean that four years hence both parties should be exchanging 2½ times more goods than in 1947. Britain alone plans to expand trade with eastern Europe from $400 million in 1947 to $919 million by 1952-1953, when it will still be some $120 million less than before the war.

The array of statistics, however, omits one vital detail: with which countries of eastern Europe do the Marshall nations contemplate achieving the big increases over 1947? In the case of Britain, for instance, trade with Poland, Finland, Hungary, and Jugoslavia is already well on the way to revival. But Britain's trade with Russia, its largest prewar trading partner in that area, is still a mere 25 per cent of its 1938 volume. Do the British planners intend that greatly expanded trade with the other nations of eastern Europe shall compensate for a permanently low volume of trade with Russia? Or do their plans for restoring trade with the area depend on the willingness of Russia to resume its prewar trade with Britain?

The authors of the interim report prepared by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation show some healthy skepticism about plans for food and raw material supplies from eastern Europe, and regard them as something in the nature of an extended ground-nuts scheme, which has been complicated by east-west political strife. Grain exports from the east, the report points out, may fall $350 million short of what the Marshall nations expect. Again, the nineteen nations have assumed timber imports from the east of $600 million—four times the supplies received in 1947. The OEEC experts point out too that scarce capital equipment is likely to reach the east only if the right things are offered in return over quite a long period.

Skepticism over the ultimate dimensions of east-west trade still seems highly reasonable, particularly in view of the extravagant claims that are sometimes made in London. What can be expected, however, are more bilateral deals in which the west promises capital equipment of no direct military value in return for specific commitments about deliveries of such raw materials as food and timber.

About Books

American Me, by Beatrice Griffith. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

"How long does it take to be American?" wonder the children of the Mexican-born in the United States' Southwest. The author, a Texan educated in California, a social worker and supervisor of handcraft projects for Mexican Americans in Los Angeles, shares with us the bewilderment and the injustices that prejudice metes out to these youngsters and their elders. For every phase of their problems—which include the zoot-suit riots; delinquency; gang psychology; frustrations in family life, school, church, and jobs; scandals in housing and health; corrupt leadership in law and politics; and the postwar cruelties toward men who won their medals of honor overseas—she gives us first the story as told by teenagers and young servicemen in their own poetic fashion, mixed with hepcat slang. She follows each story with a chapter vividly explaining the social, economic, and cultural factors responsible for the situation.

We learn how early they are "wised up," saying: "You never live long, so the thing is to take life while you can make it." "Strong hands aren't enough to succeed in this country. A Mexican like a Negro has to be better than Superman, 'cause he's got a brown skin." Yet "sometimes Mexicans are more old in California than Americans." We experience with them how it feels to have your birthday party broken up and your little house wrecked by a zoot-suit hunting mob; to know that "my grandmother who is old with living says, 'With Mexican kids and the cops it is many dogs over one bone.' " We feel one with the wounded veteran in hospital who says: "I knew that much as I hated conflict and fighting, our conflict wasn't over. Only for Americans was it over, not for us. 'Cause it's that kind of thing that smashes the big, beautiful picture of democracy the teachers paint for you in school. Americans are always breaking it for you."

Sensitivity, imagination, cultural confusion, smoldering resentment, heroism and loyalty—these and other qualities emerge from this book. What we have done and are doing to this fourth largest minority is a shameful picture. It should be faced by us, until it no longer can be said, "They carry their anxieties with them wherever they go," but rather, "The really important thing is that we are all Americans together."

—*Sara Comins.*

The Recovery of Culture, by Henry Bailey Stevens. Harper & Brothers, publishers. $3.00.

This book almost makes me a vegetarian. It teases me with the idea that there is a connection between our addiction to a meat diet and the wars that plague our civilization.

The argument is convincing that the use of land for the production of meat is (1) extravagantly inefficient, (2) spoils the land in the long run for this or any other good use, and (3) is a major factor in creating the present dilemma of land shortage for food production in the face of a growing world population.

With the present state of mankind's food supply, many millions on this planet in coming generations are doomed to starvation. Perhaps a reversion to a primate

frugiforous diet is an essential for both survival and peace.

Dr. Stevens is director of the extension services of the University of New Hampshire, including state extension programs in agriculture and home economics in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture. In musing on the present predicament of man he began to ask himself: Is it possible that in his prehistory man somehow misread the signposts and got off on a wrong track? The present volume is the result of his search among the antiquities of man and protohistory.

In developing his thesis Dr. Stevens ranges with a scholar's freedom and confidence, but with purposeful selectivity, among data from many fields of study—etymology, anthropology, comparative religion, mythology, ethnology, horticulture—all of which the present reviewer found intensely interesting and persuasive to read but about which he admits his inadequacy to comment helpfully.

There are many sections that are of special interest to ministers and teachers of religion. Some readers will take sharp issue with the author's interpretation of Biblical data. The religious philosophy that underlies the volume is a sort of syncretic mysticism, akin to that of Gerald Heard, who wrote the foreword.

—Clifford Earle.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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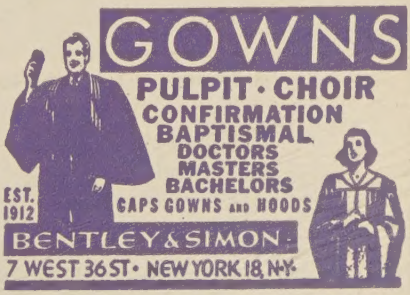
Campaign for Peace

Presbyterian Churchmen and lay leaders attended the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order in Cleveland, Ohio, March 8-11, under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches. Fifty-seven Protestant and orthodox denominations were invited to send delegates.

The conference studied various peace-threatening issues now plaguing American policy, including the North Atlantic Pact, the East-West conflict, and critical situations in China, Indonesia, and Europe. The delegates also considered constructive ways of strengthening the influence of moral judgment in international affairs and prepared for a series of area and regional world order study conferences which will follow the national conference this spring and continue next year until all sections of the country have been covered. The results of the four-day meeting will be issued in a message to the churches.

Local and state councils of churches and local groups of church leaders are urged to co-operate with these area study conferences, to make study materials available to members of their churches, and to organize group discussions and study in the various organizations of the church.

Further information about area conference dates may be secured from the Division of Social Education and Action.



God Suffers

I cannot think that God could be content
To view unmoved the toiling and the strain,
The groaning of the ages, sick and spent,
The whole creation travailing in pain.
The suffering God is no vast cosmic force,
That by some blind, unthinking, loveless power
Keeps stars and atoms swinging in their course.
And reckons naught of men in this grim hour.
Nor is the suffering of God a fair ideal
Engendered in the questioning hearts of men,
A figment of the mind to help me steel
My soul to rude realities I ken.
God suffers with a love that cleanses dross;
A God like that, I see upon a cross.

—*By Georgia Harkness.*